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721 726 pada's head. Lanpada seems to have been completely innocent in the matter except that he belonged to a village allied to the Kewai complex. He had come to Dikimpe on a dunning trip.

4. Padakalieta of Dikimpe was wounded by the Kewai people in the course of a general skirmish in which the villages of Kewai and Atimelang fought those of Dikimpe and Lawatika.

5. Likma of Kewai was killed by Manimai of Atimelang. At this point Atimelang had changed sides without notifying Kewai. The change occurred because Padakalieta, no. 4, had kin in Atimelang and the Dikimpe people persuaded the Atimelangers that they owed Padakalieta vengeance. The death of Likma is particularly instructive. He [572] and his murderer were friends. The murderer visited Kewai while Kewai was still under the impression that the Atimelangers were allies. Likma was persuaded to return to Atimelang by his friend, who promised him protection both there and en route. As the two approached Atimelang, Manimai, who was walking behind Likma, shot him in the back and brought his head into the village.

6. Kafolama of Hatoberka, a village allied with Kewai, was killed by Manipada of Atimelang in a general skirmish resulting from death no. 5.

7. Two women of Alurkowati, a village that had been relatively neutral up to this point, were wounded by a group of Lakawati men who ambushed them as they went for water.

8. Lakamau of Alurkowati was killed by Padakari of Lakawati in a skirmish.

9. An old woman of File was killed by a group of Alurkowati and Dikimpe men who were out to ambush a Lakawati person. The men had gone to an area where Lakawati people had outlying fields and where they hoped to ambush some unsuspecting and unprotected person. They failed to find anyone from Lakawati and took the head of a File woman instead.

In an affair of this sort it is obvious that the important thing is to get a head, any head, by way of revenge. It is also obvious that the most immediate kin do not necessarily feel responsible for securing vengeance in person. It is more usual to ask a friend to execute vengeance, and [573] then the kinsman goes through the elaborate payment procedure for the head secured as "spouse" for his own murdered relative. In the [519] above encounters it will be seen that the Five Villages formed an alliance, after some slight vacillation on the part of Atimelang proper. This alliance was based on territorial and the resultant kinship propinquities. Their casualties were two persons dead and three wounded, of whom three were women. Kewai and its allied villages of Lakawati, Hato-

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manic behavior there was much sly humor. In fact, all of these cases were frequently sources of considerable amusement to bystanders.

Probably all these persons were of the manic-depressive type. This psychosis is much more obvious and socially disturbing than certain other mental illnesses, which may account for the emphasis on them. Whether or not the individual's behavior is correctly reported, it is interesting that informants all stress as symptoms of insanity violence, both against people and property, obscenity, and scatologic behavior.

To summarize and to repeat the linkage among all the phenomena so far discussed, we find that spirit possession is associated with hyperexcitability and in its severer forms with manic episodes containing only poorly disguised suicidal impulses, although suicide is *not* institutionalized. Further, spirit possession in certain types of illness is interpreted as death and leads to the burial of live persons. All these factors may serve to keep toned down the avowedly possessional faculties of seers so that there is considerable doubt about true trance and a general lack of impressiveness in seers' performances, which, in turn, may be factors contributing to their lack of marked social recognition. Lastly, the attitudes and dangers clustering around spirit possession may explain the resistance to intoxicants.

BURIAL.

All these digressions lead finally to actual behavior connected with death and burial. When a person dies, the male lineal kin set out immediately to secure the shroud and as many contributions as possible in mokos, gongs, pigs, and food. The shroud will be worn after death by the deceased. This is part of his postmortem prestige, but since cloth is at a premium, this debt will have to be repaid at high interest rates, and around the shroud in future years will center most of the haggling for repayment. Forehanded kinsmen of the proper category see to it that they are prepared with a shroud of high value. Their eyes are on future profit. As a result the best pieces of cloth in the community are being continually put out of circulation. With the onset of death the female kin begin to prepare rice and corn. Not more than one or two women stay near the corpse to wail.

The spouse of the deceased is felt to be in so much danger from the dead that he leaves the immediate vicinity and stands guard with unsheathed knife, to prevent the ghost from carrying him off. For the following night and day he should not sleep. (These precautions are observed by both sexes.) Burial usually occurs not more than twenty-four to thirty-six hours after death, and it is courteous of friends to rush the procedure by urging the family on with comments about the stench of the body.

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754 [824] those willing to discuss the matter. A dead man's tooth powdered into food or mixed with tobacco is supposed to be deadly. A fly that alights on such food will die; therefore, finding a dead fly in food offered by people whose good will one has reason to suspect, arouses suspicions of an intent to poison. All interest in this field, as in the field of witchcraft, remains on a remote plane and is stimulated only by some ill fortune. I feel quite sure there was no general pervasive malaise in this connection. [52] At a time when Maliseni and his brother were absent a good deal visiting a village on the west slope of Kalabahi Bay, people whispered that they were purchasing poison there. So far as I know, however, the matter was dropped as a subject of gossip after four or five days.

Witchcraft and poisoning are definitely not major problems and are only minor causes, among many, of illness and death. There is absolutely no attempt, such as one often finds in sorcery- and witchcraft-ridden areas, to conceal nail parings, excreta, and all personal effluvia. On page 88 there was an account of a woman who thought her husband had poisoned her by using a piece of areca-nut shell she had tossed away. In an area really preoccupied with poisoning no woman on bad terms with her husband and in a strange village would have been so careless. The interesting aspect of these matters of witchcraft and poisoning is that they are present but largely latent.

789 The most frequently used form of malignant activity is the laying 695 of curses. These, as we have already noted, may be directed by one 241 individual against another. It is not done secretly; quite on the contrary, [57] it constitutes a public declaration of hostility where personal relationships have reached the breaking point. More common is the impersonal use of curses, usually after one has been the victim of theft by an unknown person. Since there is very little property, except garden produce, whose owner is not generally known, most such protections against theft are to be seen in fields, near areca and coconut palms, or near the place where a child, too small to identify anyone, has been robbed. Toddlers often wear anklets with a bell or a single-strand cord belt on which coins or beads have been strung. If these are stolen, and not infrequently they are, a curse will be erected by an expert on the trail where the child usually plays. A common sight in gardens is a bamboo pole bearing one of a large possible variety of sickness insignia. These may be erected before one has been victimized, as a warning to a potential thief, or after one has been victimized, in order that the unknown thief may develop that particular illness.

685 An instance of such procedure may serve to make matters clearer. 789 Fanseni Long Hair's son, a child of about two, had a coin stolen from

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jumped up too and ran. I was afraid that Senmani of Alurkowati would beat me for what my brother had done. My brother was about twelve then and I was eighteen or nineteen. At that time Fanleti of Folafeng and I were friends. We were born the same day. [Always considered cause for a special bond.] If I hadn't been sick and got a bad eye and leg, my body would have grown big and strong. [Note this preoccupation with his physique. Actually this quarrel that led up to the remark occurred before he was crippled.]

[I asked whether he took care of his younger brother when he was small.] Once mother and I went to the garden; there was a large field house and we lived there. One day she told me to carry Senmani while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted to nurse. I gave him food, but he only vomited it. He cried and cried and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to nurse him, but she wouldn't come. So I took Senmani in the house and laid him down on a mat and ran off to Folafeng. From there I shouted, "Mother, your child sleeps in the house. If you want to care for it, good; if you don't want to, also good. I am going to Atimelang and play." I went to the house of my maternal grandmother in the former Atimelang. I don't know what mother did. Mother called, "All right, you have thrown away your younger brother. Tomorrow you will die." That evening mother came to Atimelang with Senmani and gave him to my grandfather to care for. In the morning she returned and tied my hands behind my back. She said, "You wear a loincloth but you aren't old enough to wear a loincloth." She took my loincloth away from me. Then my grandfather split his shawl and gave me half for a loincloth. I said to my mother, "You have hit me and you have taken away my loincloth. Now I don't want to stay with you." Then mother talked nicely to me, but I didn't want to go back. My grandfather said, "You hit him and opened his loincloth, so now go cut your weeds with your right hand and care for your infant with your left hand. Carry the child in front and your water tubes in back." I stayed a month with my grandfather, and then mother came back and asked me to go home. So I did, and cared for my younger brother.

February 9, 1939

Once Andereas' mother had a child. His mother ordered him to care for the child. He didn't want to; he just ran away to play. So she called me and asked me to care for it. I went up and minded it. Early one morning Alurkoma said that he would mind the baby, and that I had better go fetch caterpillars for him [to eat]. I said, "I can get

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perched on some brush and made a noise. After a while Kolata looked [59x]
and saw that it wasn't a bird but a person who was approaching. When he reached the garden boundary he disappeared. At this time her first child could sit up and she had been pregnant for two months with her second. She gathered up all her things and went to Lawatika. [Here the interpreter interposed that she had probably slept with the evil spirit, something Lomani had definitely avoided saying.] Her husband was sitting there, and she asked him if he had just come to the garden. He said no, he hadn't, that he was minding the baby. Then Kolata began to cry and said her stomach hurt. She went up in the house to sleep. In seven days she was dead. [Question.] This was two years ago.

[Did their friendship end with their marriages?] I lived far off. But [57a]
when I came here, Kolata always cooked for me—corn, eggplant, beans. She called me to come eat with her. This was just once in a while.

[Did you too not wish to sleep with your husband at first?] When I went there and my husband wanted to sleep with me, I would say that he had to pay my bride-price first. Once I ran away as far as Kaiyang, and then my mother-in-law called to me and said, "I too am your mother. I am from Atimelang, so come back." I went back, and that night he tried to sleep with me again, but I didn't want him. Then he got a Kolmale moko and we took it to Maitama and Atamai. So after that we slept together.

[I asked why she went to live with her husband if she didn't want to sleep with him. She laughed—one of the few times during all the interviews.] I wanted him to pay his bride-price first. [I asked why she didn't go on living with her family until he paid it.] I wanted to stay home until he did, but my family said I had to go. Besides, his mother was harvesting corn and needed help. My kinsmen said if I fed him and cooked for him he would want to hurry and find a moko. [I asked if her husband was the first man with whom she had slept. She answered yes.]

March 18, 1939

[Again no dream, and again she had great difficulty in starting.] Once I was playing. Then I went to mother and said, "Mother, that corn you put in my basket was eaten up by my older brothers [classificatory] and I am hungry. I didn't eat it myself and I want some more." So she cooked some more and gave it to me. [Who ate it?] Fanma and Maitama. They said, "We shall eat this and then you go to your mother and ask for more. You eat your share in the house and

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159 bring us some more in your basket." [Did you want to?] Yes. They were my elder brothers, and so I said I would. [What did your mother say?] She said that since my elder brothers had eaten it, I had better take them some more.

[I asked whether she felt that they usually had less food in their home than others had in theirs. She didn't seem to grasp the idea.] If [261 476] one is hungry and hasn't food, one can work for another person and will be given a bundle of corn in payment. Or if one hasn't enough, a [572] friend may help by inviting one to come dig in the garden for tubers. [Did your mother have such a friend?] Yes, Kolangkalieta. [The mother of her own friend, Kolang. The mother is also called simply Kolang in this account.]

[Long pause. I told her to go ahead. She sighed heavily. This was the first time she had permitted herself this sort of emotional expression.] Occasionally, if Kolangkalieta sat all day and didn't go to her garden, mother would put tubers she had dug into a calabash dish and give them to her. When Kolangkalieta went to File, where she had a garden, she would bring us back kanari nuts and give them to us to eat.

[I asked about the elder sister, Falepang, who was sick.] Once when I went playing, Falepang and mother stayed in the house. When they cooked, mother said, "Don't save any for Lomani; eat it all up." [Why?] [861] Because mother told me to wait until the food had all been served before beginning to eat and said I should eat with my sisters, all of us together. So I said, "If that is so, I don't want to eat." And I went away. Then Falepang took one spoonful for herself and the other she put aside for me. She ate every other spoonful; she hid the half she had saved for me, so mother would not see it. Then when I came home Falepang called to me to come up, and she gave me the food she had saved. She said, "Mother is often angry, and she didn't want to save food for you, but here is some." Then Falepang sent me for greens. We added them to what Falepang had cooked, and we ate together. Then Falepang said I should go fetch some bamboo so that she could make me a basket. When I went out, Falepangmai and Kawaimani wanted to come too; so all three of us went. We brought it back, and Falepang wove us baskets. She made big ones for the older ones and a [785] little one for me. She overlaid them with tua bamboo. She knew how to overlay either the whole basket or only the top and bottom. She said, "The big ones are for you, and you can fetch corn and greens in them. The little one is for Lomani, and she can fetch grasshoppers."

Once there was a dance in Alurkowati. The day before, Falepangmai